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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

THE HOUSEHOLD

Geographical, economic, consanguineal, and religious factors all entered into the evolution of the Creek confederacy. They took concrete shape in the household, family, clan, phratry, clan moiety, town, and town moiety. 592

Women owned the houses and were permanent occupants, moving only as new houses were built for them or as the entire group to which they belonged migrated seasonally or permanently. These houses were also the homes (hûti) of the nearest male blood relations, those whom the women called "uncles," "brothers," and "sons." They, however, normally went to the homes of their wives as soon as they were married, besides spending much time in the public square and in the tcokofa. On the other hand, aged men, whose wives had died and whose children were grown up and scattered, might come back to the homes of their childhood, or, as frequently happened, they might spend their last years moving from house to house among the women of their own clan connection—never, however, among those of the clan connection of their wives. [562] [591] [888]

A typical Creek home would therefore consist of a man and woman, their children, one or more sons-in-law, some grandchildren, some aged or dependent individuals of the same clan group, and perhaps an orphan or two or one or more individuals taken in war. These last, though somewhat looked down upon at first, were rapidly assimilated with the tribe which had captured them and soon came to be appreciated in accordance with their proven merit. There was nothing that may properly be called a slave system among the Indians of the Southeast. Where polygamy existed the wives were generally own sisters and usually inhabited the same house, though there were cases in which a man had wives living in two or more distinct houses. [597] [567] [595]

THE FAMILY

GENERAL REMARKS

A fairly accurate clue to the Muskogee conception of the "family" is furnished by the terms of relationship. These consist of a number of root words, not now analyzable, and words formed from these which it is natural to assume are secondary in importance. Many terms are of the "classificatory" type, covering a number of individuals who to our way of thinking bear quite distinct relations to the speaker. Theorists have tried to maintain that this collective use preceded the special or individual use, but so far as the Muskogee are concerned the evidence points to the special application as having been, if not the original, at least the typical or primary. Secondary or derivative 601

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601 applications are frequently indicated by means of the diminutive suffix or some qualifying word, though we find that this may sometimes be omitted. In the tables which follow I have given merely the stems of the terms of relationship, but it must be understood that in actual use they never occur without the appropriate pronominal prefixes. For each of them there is an English term the use of which approaches so closely to that of the Indian that it may be employed—as I have in fact employed it—as typical of the relationship in question.

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP USED BY A MAN

I. TERMS DETERMINED BY BIRTH

1. potca (grandfather). Applied: (1) to the father's father and the mother's father; (2) to the brothers of these, their fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers, and their brothers; in short, to all of the male ancients of the groups from which the speaker traces his origin; (3) to the father's sister's husband and to the husbands of all her female descendants in both the male and the female lines; (4) to husbands of the more remote posi mentioned below. It was bestowed on anyone whose wife was called posi and given as an honorary term to any old man. A man called the clan (or exogamous group?) of his father's father tcapotca lâko, "my great-grandfather."

2. posi (grandmother). Applied: (1) to the father's mother and the mother's mother, sometimes distinguished as "the real posi"; (2) to the sisters and female ancestors of these individuals in the same extensive manner as was the case with the preceding term; (3) to the father's sister and all of her female descendants in both the female and the male lines; (4) to more remote female descendants of all posi on the father's side. The husbands of all women called by this term were known as potca.

3. lki (father). Applied: (1) to the father; (2) to the father's brother; (3) to the father's sister's male descendants in both male and female lines; (4) to all other male descendants of the women on the father's side who are called posi; (5) to the husband of the mother's sister; (6) to the stepfather; it carries the idea of "second father." All of these individuals except the true father are usually distinguished by having applied to them the diminutive form of this term, lkutci.

4. tcki (mother). Applied: (1) to the mother; (2) to the mother's sister; (3) to the father's brother's wife; (4) to the wives of the male descendants of the father's sister and the more remote relations upon the father's side who are known by the preceding term; (5) to the stepmother. And, as in the case of the preceding term, it usually takes the diminutive suffix in all usages except the first.

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5. pawa (uncle). Applied: (1) to the mother's brother; (2) to the older men of the mother's exogamous group and at times to the younger ones also since it is said that an old man would sometimes call a small baby thus. Each exogamous group had an "uncle" par excellence who was its leader and instructor.[81a]

According to Morgan[82] this term was also applied to the mother's mother's brother's son and to the mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son, the children and grandchildren of these individuals receiving the same terms as the children and grandchildren of the mother's own brother. It is evident that the first of these can not belong to the same exogamous group as the mother's brother, because his father belongs to that exogamous group, while the second may or may not belong to it according as his father had married into that exogamous group or into another. If Morgan's informants were correct and he made no mistake himself, this would remove almost the last term from the number of those which might have had an application coterminous with an exogamous group.

6. ɬaha (elder brother). Applied: (1) to the elder brother; (2) to the older male child of the father's brother; (3) to the older male child of the mother's sister; (4) to a number of men of corresponding age in the exogamous group of the speaker.

7. tcusi (younger brother). Applied like the preceding but to younger brothers and younger males of the same groups.

8. wánwa (sister). The feminine term parallel to the last two. Loughridge and Hodge[83] give wánwa for elder sister and tcuste for younger sister, but I am inclined to think that this distinction was not commonly made. According to Morgan[84] the stepsister was known by the same term.

9. kputci (son). Applied: (1) to the son; (2) to the son of the elder or younger brother; (3) to the sons of all of those called ɬaha or tcusi; (4) to the male children of those called pawa (uncle). The stepson was called tcákputci haki, "like my son."

10. tchusti (daughter) (see 22). Applied: (1) to the daughter; (2) to the daughter of the elder or younger brother; (3) to the daughters of all those called ɬaha or tcusi; (4) to the female children of those spoken of as pawa (uncle). The stepdaughter was called tcátchusti haki, "like my daughter."

11. hopwiwa (nephew). Applied: (1) to the sister's son; (2) to all sons of those called wánwa; (3) to the younger men of the same exogamous group more remotely related. The plural form of this term, hopwitálgi, is used for the persons constituting this category and the next taken collectively.

[81a] See pp. 129-130.
[82] Morgan, Systems of Consanguinity, pp. 355, 391.
[83] Loughridge and Hodge, Dictionary, entry "sister."
[84] Morgan, op. cit., p. 378.

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12. hákpati (niece). Applied: (1) to the sister's daughter; (2) to all daughters of those called wánwa; (3) to the younger women of the same exogamous group more remotely related, and extended, it is said, not merely to all of the young women of the group but to its entire female membership.

13. osuswa (grandchild). Applied: (1) to the grandchild of either sex by persons of either sex; (2) to the grandchildren of the brothers and sisters; (3) to the grandchildren of the uncles (mother's brothers); (4) to the grandchildren of all called by the same terms as the brothers, sisters, and uncles; (5) to the descendants of all of these. In other words it seems to take in all of the coming generations generally except for the descendants of the women of the father's exogamous group and those related through it, who are all known as "little fathers," and grandmothers (posi).

II. MARRIAGE RELATIONSHIPS

14. hewa (wife). This term was never employed by the man himself "because it was thought that husband and wife are too closely related." Instead he usually called his wife hoktáli (old woman). Hewa, or a term very closely resembling it, was given to me as a synonym for hátcawa (see No. 18). Morgan,[85] however, who gives it in the form ehiwā, enters it as one applied by a woman to her brother's wife and, as might have been expected, to her mother's sister's son's wife. It is perhaps significant that it then takes the possessive pronominal prefix, indicating less direct connection, while the word for wife takes the direct pronominal prefix.

15. mahe (father-in-law). Applied: (1) to the wife's father; (2) to his brothers and his and their male antecedents generally, as also probably to the older men of the father-in-law's exogamous group. Morgan says two fathers-in-law applied the term reciprocally.

16. hoktálwa (mother-in-law). Applied: (1) to the wife's mother; (2) to the sisters and female antecedents of all these women, and probably to the older women of the mother-in-law's exogamous group. Morgan says that two mothers-in-law applied the term to each other. This word carries the meaning that the person so designated has become "the old woman of the house."

17. kaputci (brother-in-law). Applied: (1) to the wife's brother; (2) to the wife's sister's husband; (3) to all of the younger males related through the wife.

18. hátcawa (sister-in-law). Applied: (1) to the wife's sister; (2) to the wife's brother's wife; (3) to all of the younger females related through the wife; (4) to the wife of the uncle (pawa) and all of those women married to the persons called uncle. According to Morgan[86] it is also used for the brother's wife instead of tcukowáki

[85] Morgan, Systems of Consanguinity, pp. 341, 351. [86] Ibid., p. 360.

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(kawa) and this would seem to be more natural, since in that case hâtcawa would prove to be the term for all of the women married into a man's family in his own generation, while tcukowâki would be the corresponding term for all of the males. Still all my own informants disagree with Morgan on this point. As was to have been expected in any case, Morgan also applies it to the father's brother's son's wife and the mother's sister's son's wife.

19. tcukowâki (called by Morgan kawa) (sister-in-law, brother-in-law). Applied: (1) to the sister's husband; (2) according to my own informants to the brother's wife (see 18); (3) to the husbands and wives (?) of those called elder brother, younger brother, and sister; (4) to the sister's daughter's husband. It is possible that the term hâtisi may sometimes have been used instead of this. In accordance with the expected we find Morgan[87] applying it to the father's brother's daughter's husband and the mother's sister's daughter's husband. The word means "he who lies down at (my) house" and thus becomes a member of my family.

20. hâtisi (son-in-law, daughter-in-law). Applied: (1) to the son's wife; (2) to the daughter's husband; (3) to the wives and husbands of all of those called "sons" and "daughters."

Terms of Relationship Used by a Woman

These are the same as the terms used by a man except as below indicated:

The terms łaha and tcusi are applied to the elder sister and younger sister respectively instead of to the elder and younger brother, and they are extended to corresponding female groups. Morgan states that the former term was bestowed upon the stepsister.

21. tcilwa (brother). Applied: (1) to the brother; (2) to male children of the father's brothers and those classed with him, and to the male children of the mother's sisters and those classed with her; (3) to the stepbrother. It is the reciprocal of the purely male term wânwa.

22. tchuswa (child).[88] Applied: (1) to own children of both sexes in place of the male terms kputci and tchusti; (2) to the children of the elder sisters and younger sisters; (3) to the children of all called by the same names as the elder and younger sisters. Sometimes the sister's children and more remote relations were distinguished by the use of the diminutive suffix (tchuswutci). The stepchild was called tcâtchuswa haki, "like my child."

Instead of employing separate terms for the nephew and niece, as did males, the women called them indiscriminately osuswa (grandchildren), and also gave this term to the children of the uncles (pawa).

[87] Morgan, Systems of Consanguinity, pp. 317, 343. [88] The word is said to be related to tcustaki, "eggs."

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Instead of applying the terms tchuswa or tchuswutci to the children of her father's brother's daughter and her mother's sister's daughter, Morgan states that a woman used the term osuswa. This is all the more remarkable as the mothers of these individuals are at the same time said to have been called by the same terms as the speaker's own sisters (laha and tcusi). This is also given as the term for the mother's sister's daughter's children, and hence it presumably took in all of the children of those called laha and tcusi except own sisters.

23. he (husband). A wife did not use this term herself; she called her husband "my old man."

A woman uses the same terms for her husband's father and mother that a man uses for his wife's father and mother.

24. hâtcawa (brother-in-law, sister-in-law). According to my own informants, this is applied to all brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law—sister's husband, brother's wife, husband's brother, husband's sister, husband's brother's wife, and husband's sister's husband. As stated above (under 14), Morgan calls the brother's wife ehiwā, while I was told that the latter term, or one nearly like it, was synonymous with hâtcawa in all of its uses. The ordinary word for wife is hewá (or haiwa).

Where sex distinctions were not connoted by the terms themselves they could be indicated by adding to any term honanwa, "male," or hokti, "female."

SUPPLEMENTARY TERMS

25. itetcayeta, "the one next to whom I come" (or "the other brother"—Morgan[59]) may sometimes be applied to the elder brother, but it is not necessarily bestowed on blood relations. Morgan gives this as a term for the father's brother's son and also for the stepbrother.[60]

26. saitca, used to designate the men of the father's clan.

27. pitahaiálgi (-álgi plural suffix) is believed to have been applied to the female offspring of the father's brothers. This is from information furnished by the late G. W. Grayson.

28. hisitagi, a term applied to friendly clans not otherwise related.

29. hupuitagi, "children," a general term; the singular is obsolete.

30. hunapsi, "offspring."

31. istutci ("little person"), my child, referring to any single child; hokosi is a term for children in general.

32. tcipánâgi, or tcibánâgi, the younger men of the clan or exogamous group.

Many of these terms, especially as respects their more general applications, are now used only in jest, but anciently their use was a serious and sacred matter. The following tables present diagrammatically all of the essentials of the Creek scheme of relationship.

[59] Morgan, Systems of Consanguinity, p. 314. [60] Ibid., pp. 314, 378.

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MUSKOGEE—SELF MALE

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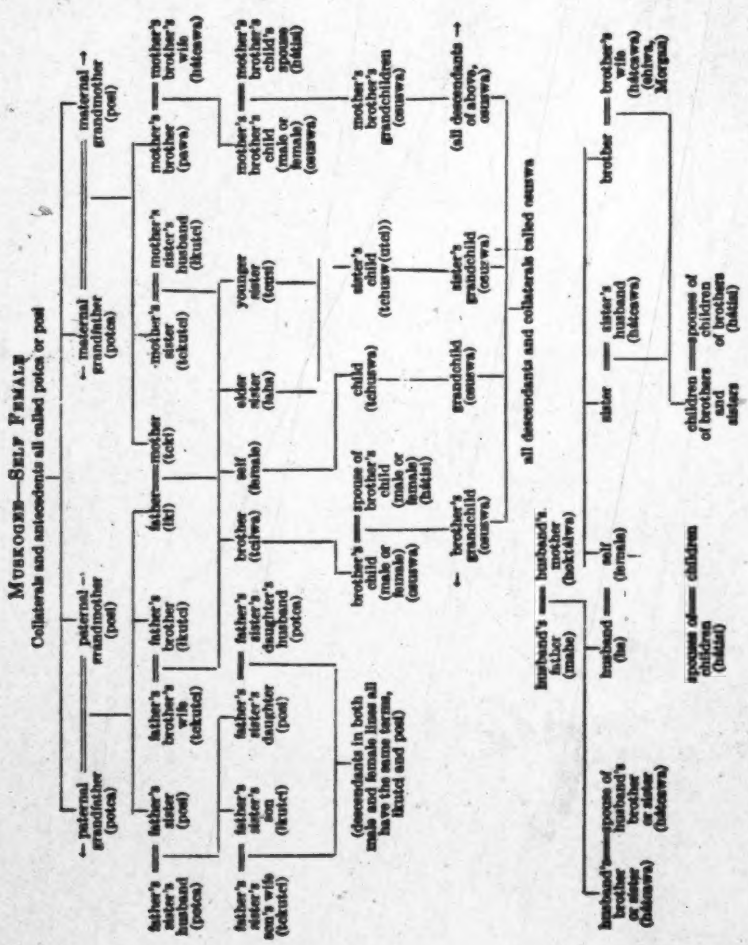
MUSKOGEE—SELF FEMALE
Collaterals and antecedents all called poten or pust
← paternal grandfather (poten)
paternal grandmother (pust)
← maternal grandfather (poten)
maternal → grandmother (pust)
father's sister (pust)
father's brother (ikuti)
father's brother's wife (tekuti)
father's sister's husband (poten)
father's sister's son (ikuti)
father's sister's daughter (pust)
father's sister's son's wife (tekuti)
father (iti)
mother (iki)
mother's sister (tekuti)
mother's sister's husband (ikuti)
mother's brother (pawa)
mother's brother's wife (tukcawa)
self (female)
older sister (laka)
younger sister (tcusi)
brother (tciwa)
sister
husband's father (male)
husband's mother (tukciwa)
husband (ha)
self (female)
husband's brother or sister (tukcawa)
spouse of husband's brother or sister (tukcawa)
spouse of children (tukisi)
children
brother's child (male or female) (cawa)
spouse of brother's child (male or female) (tukisi)
child (tcuwa)
sister's child (tcuwa or (ctci))
brother's grandchild (cawa)
grandchild (cawa)
sister's grandchild (cawa)
mother's brother's child (male or female) (cawa)
mother's brother's child's spouse (tukisi)
mother's brother's grandchildren (cawa)
(all descendants of above, cawa)
(descendants in both male and female lines all have the same terms, ikuti and pust)
all descendants and collaterals called cawa
brother
brother's wife (tukcawa) (also, Morgan)
sister's husband (tukcawa)
children of brothers and sisters
spouse of children of brothers (tukisi)

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Muskogee

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Almost the only attempt by an early writer to give an idea of the nature of the Muskogee terms of relationship is by Stiggins, who says:

"All the men of the father's clan or family are called their father, the women are generally called their grandmother, all the men of the mother's family older than themselves are their uncles, being their mother's brothers. All of their own age and under are called their brothers, and all of the old women of their mother's clan are called grandmother or aunt." [a]

This information agrees entirely with what has been presented above.

601 614

The ceremonial extension of terms of relationship to clans as a whole is also mentioned by Stiggins. We shall refer to this again when we come to speak of the clan system.

In spite of the emphasis which Stiggins places on clans in determining the application of terms of relationship, an examination of the usages assigned to them shows that all of the terms not individual (such as the ones used to designate husband and wife) cut across, or at least may cut across, the lines of the exogamous groups. This is, of course, patently true of those applied to grandfather, grandmother, and grandchild, and it is at once evident in the case of that applied to the father since it is used for all of the male descendants of the father's sister through both males and females. The term for "mother" may be bestowed upon a woman not of the mother's clan because it is given to the wives of the father's sister's male descendants, apparently without any clan limitations. Again, if we may trust Morgan, the term "uncle," the mother's brother, is used for the mother's mother's brother's son who can not be of the same exogamous group as the mother's brother. "Brother" and "sister" are used, not only for the children of all of those called "mothers," who are of the same exogamous group, but for the children of those called "fathers," who may be of several distinct groups. The terms for the sister's children are not determined by clan lines because they may be used for the children of the father's brother's daughter. Still less is there an absolute association of the terms resulting from marriage and the exogamous divisions.

601 602

It is evident, in other words, that the determining factor in the use of these terms is the relation which the several persons to whom they are applied bears to self, not the relation which they bear to his clan or exogamous group. It is evident, also, that terms are applied to a class for the most part because the individuals composing it are connected with some individual, or small group of individuals, having special significance for the speaker. That this extension of the term is secondary is shown clearly in many cases by the employment of the diminutive suffix which evidently indicates greater remoteness in

[a] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.

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Muskogee;
Hitchiti; Koasati

601 602 the connection. The ɬki or ɬkutci are connected with self through the primary ɬki or father; or because, through marriage, they have been brought in line with other ɬki. Much the same is true of the other relationships, and it becomes particularly obvious when we examine the associations due to marriage. The "typical" relations for a man appear to be: potca, grandfather; posi, grandmother; ɬki, father; tcki, mother; pawa, maternal uncle; ɬaha, elder brother; tcusi, younger brother; wànwa, sister; kputci, son; tchusti, daughter; hopwiwa, sister's son (or daughter); hàkpati, sister's daughter; osuswa, grandchild; mahe, father-in-law; hoktàlwa, mother-in-law; hàtcawa, sister-in-law; kaputci, wife's brother; tcukowaki, sister's husband; hàtisi, spouse of child. The typical relations for a woman are the same except that the terms used by a man for elder brother and younger brother she applies to her elder and younger sisters, while she has a term, tcilwa, not employed by a man, for all of her brothers, and one term, tchuswa, for a child of either sex. Hàtcawa has a wider extension, and, according to Morgan, a new term, ehiwa, is used for the brother's wife, perhaps a mere modification of the word "wife" itself; kaputci is not employed. The tie between an individual and his mother's people is certainly far closer than that between him and his father's people, but the fact is not reflected in the terms of relationship to the extent one would anticipate.

601 184 Although no doubt the terms of relationship employed by the various tribes incorporated into the Creek confederacy differed somewhat not only in the forms of the words but in application it is to be suspected that, as we have them to-day, they have been brought into conformity with Muskogee usage. This should be found particularly the case with Hitchiti and to a somewhat less degree with Koasati and Alabama.

601 My list of Hitchiti terms is incomplete. It is as follows: grandfather, fosi; father, ɬki (in direct address by children, tati); mother, hki or ki (in direct address by children, watci); mother's sister, hkosi ("little mother"); elder brother, tcayi; younger brother, yakpitci (or yakposi); elder sister (man sp.), funki; younger sister (man sp.), otcabaka; brother (woman sp.), ɬakfi; elder and younger sisters of woman, same terms as for elder and younger brothers of man; son, hopui; daughter, ostaiki; nephew (and niece?), ohosotci; wife, hàlki (called by husband in direct address hamuhtci); husband, nàkàni ("male"); mother-in-law, katamoh. The oldest sister was known as hamuhtaka.

The following diagram illustrates the Koasati terms of relationship, as they were obtained by me at the Koasati village in Louisiana:

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Koasati

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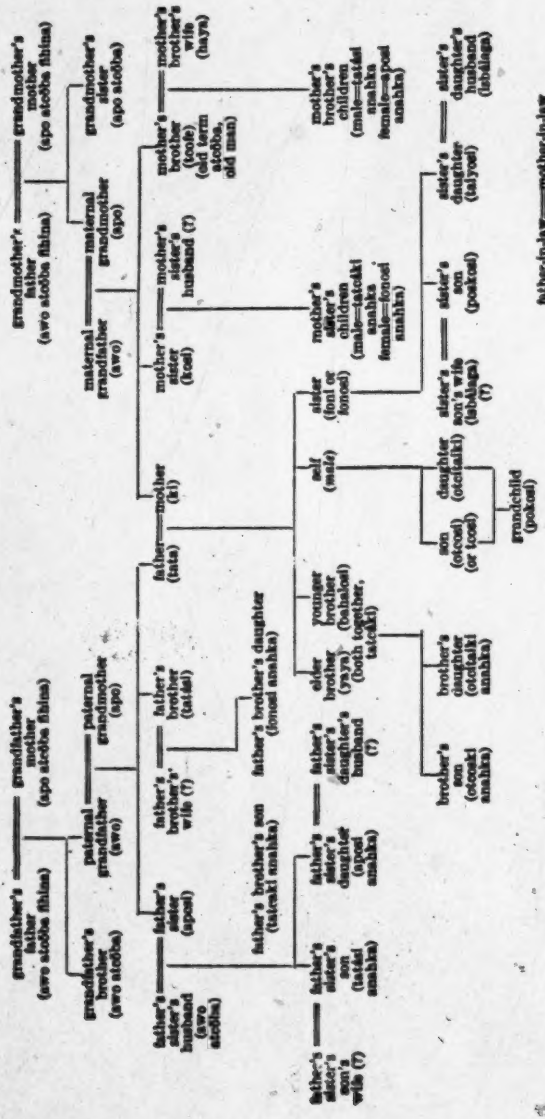
KOASATI—SELF MALE



KOASATI—SELF FEMALE

[1] Called sometimes anlakfosi otcosi to indicate to a stranger that they are not own grandchildren.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Alabama
Natchez NO8 91

C. 184 601

Most of the apparent differences between the Muskogee and Koasati systems disappear on closer examination, but a few divergencies are left which are rather striking. Thus Muskogee males call the children of the mother's brother by the same terms as the children of the own brother, while the Koasati give to them the terms employed for the father's sister's children. Again, the Muskogee have but one term for son-in-law and daughter-in-law, while the Koasati have a term for each.

C. 601

So far as I have been able to determine, the Alabama system closely resembles that of the Koasati, but the words employed differ somewhat. These differences are as follows: Grandfather, fosi; maternal uncle, mosi; father's sister, tcipo; elder brother of man and elder sister of woman, tcatci; younger brother of man and younger sister of woman, bahlo; daughter, ostaiki. Also, anale (or onali) is used for both the son-in-law and the daughter-in-law, so that Alabama resembles Muskogee in this respect more than it does Koasati. In direct address an Alabama child calls its mother pitci.

N. 601

A few Natchez terms of relationship were recorded by Albert Pike, Mrs. Robertson, and Dr. A. S. Gatschet from individuals belonging to those Natchez living among the Muskogee, but the more complete list obtained by the writer was secured from an Indian of the Cherokee branch of the tribe. No differences in usage have been observed between the two sections.

From the narratives of Du Pratz and other early writers we know that the ancient Natchez organization was highly complex and a considerable development of the relationship terminology was to have been expected. What has come down to us resembles in essentials the systems of the surrounding tribes, but there are a few peculiar features and some supplementary terms which suggest greater complexity in the past. The explanations which I obtained for some of these Natchez terms are contradictory, due no doubt in part to the fact that they were transmitted through a Cherokee interpreter, but most of them may be straightened out by reference to the other Muskhogean systems. In the following list I have numbered them so as to conform as nearly as possible to the numbers in the lists already given.

Terms of Relationship Used by a Man

1. dedex (grandfather). Applied to the grandfather on either side.

2. icdu, yecdu, yecta, necte (grandmother). Applied to the grandmother on either side, and to the father's sister. From the variant forms it is possible that the one used for the father's sister may have been slightly different from that used for the grandmother, but I think not. The secondary applications were probably like those in the other southeastern languages, though whether of the Muskogee or the Chickasaw type it would be impossible to say.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNIl Creek NNIl
Natchez NO8

N. 601 171 C. 601 171

. In its main outlines this is like the better known systems already described.[1] There are, however, two or three divergencies which would perhaps be of importance if we could be assured of the reliability of our data. One of these was the use of terms for the father's brother and the mother's sister having no etymological connection with the words for own father and own mother; another the employment by a woman of a term for elder sister distinct from the term used by a man for his elder brother. There is not a trace of the first of these anomalies in Cherokee any more than in the common Muskhogean tongues. Cherokee and ordinary Muskhogean usage do indeed diverge in applying terms to the brothers and sisters, but Natchez agrees with neither. Among the Cherokee there is one reciprocal term applied by a man to his sisters and by a woman to her brothers. A man has distinct terms for elder brother and younger brother, neither of which is, indeed, used by the woman, but, unlike Natchez, she has only one term for all of her sisters.

C. 601 619

When we come to the discussion of clans we shall find that terms of relationship, particularly the terms "uncle" and "nephew," were sometimes applied to clans taken as a whole (see pp. 145–149). They were also extended to towns and foreign tribes. Thus Tukabahchee has frequently been called "the mother town" (talwa itcki), an appellation shared also by Kasihta, Coweta, Coosa, Abihka, and Otciapofa. Malatchi, head chief of the Creeks about the middle of the eighteenth century and probably a Kasihta Indian, speaks of the Chickasaw as his "younger brothers" and himself as their "elder brother."[62] McGillivray informed Barton that the Cherokee had been longer in the east than the Creeks and therefore called the latter their "younger brothers."[63] Like so many other tribes, the Creeks called the Delaware Indians their "grandfathers" and they were called "grandchildren" by both Delaware and Shawnee.[64] Schoolcraft, who gives this information, also adds: "Their traditions assign them a medium position in the political scale of the tribes. Whether this relationship is sanctioned by the tradition of all other tribes is not known; but by some it is."[65] The French were formerly said to be the "fathers" of the southern Indians, and at the present day the same term is applied to the Americans.

C. 601

The examination of these systems of relationship, particularly that of the Muskogee, makes it evident that they are based upon essentially the same factors as our own—blood, marriage, sex, relative age, social contact—although the fourth item has much greater prominence. To these the influence of the artificial exogamous group must be added, but it can not be too strongly emphasized that this factor merely gives a certain twist to a system by no means de-

[62] Bossu's Ms. Journal, p. 89. [64] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, 1, p. 266.
[63] Barton, New Views, p. xlv.

[1] [See pp. 79-97; category 116. -- Analyst]

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Chickasaw NN9

pendent on it, a system which gives the impression of something already in existence before the artificial exogamous group was heard of. The family, then, as revealed by the relationship terminology, recognized all of the points of contact radiating outward from self through the affiliations of mother, father, brother, sister, wife or husband, child, nephew and niece, parent-in-law, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, and all of the various connections brought about through these. It is true that the association was distinctly closer with the mother's people than with the people of the father's group, but there is no evidence that this was anything more than a specialization which under other circumstances might have taken an exactly contrary direction, or might have maintained a balance between the two sides of the house.

After devoting some space to a consideration of personal names, our next task will be to take up this special development and see what factors it adds to the family complex already considered.

NAMES AND TITLES

The customs of the Chickasaw and Creeks were so nearly alike in many particulars that an account of one will answer very well for the other, but there are exceptions, and one of these is in the matter of names, which differ not merely in the language in which they are couched but in the systems employed. Adair's exposition of Chickasaw naming is as follows:

"They give their children names expressive of their tempers, outward appearances, and other various circumstances; a male child, they will call *Choola*, 'the fox'; and a female, *Pakahle*, 'the blossom, or flower.'[a] The father and mother of the former are called *Choollingge*, and *Choollishke*, 'the father and mother of the fox'; in like manner, those of the latter, *Pakahlingge*, and *Pakahlishke;* for *Ingge* signifies the father, and *Ishke* the mother. In private life they are so termed till that child dies; but after that period they are called by the name of their next surviving child, or if they have none, by their own name; and it is not known that they ever mention the name of the child that is extinct. They only faintly allude to it, saying, 'the one that is dead,' to prevent new grief, as they had before mourned the appointed time. They who have no children of their own, adopt others, and assume their names, in the manner already mentioned . . ."[a]

"When the Indians distinguish themselves in war, their names are always compounded—drawn from certain roots suitable to their intention, and expressive of the characters of the persons, so that their names joined together, often convey a clear and distinct idea of

[a] The name of the "turtledove" (by which is meant the mourning dove or passenger pigeon) was also applied to a female child. Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 26.

[a] Adair, op. cit., p. 191.